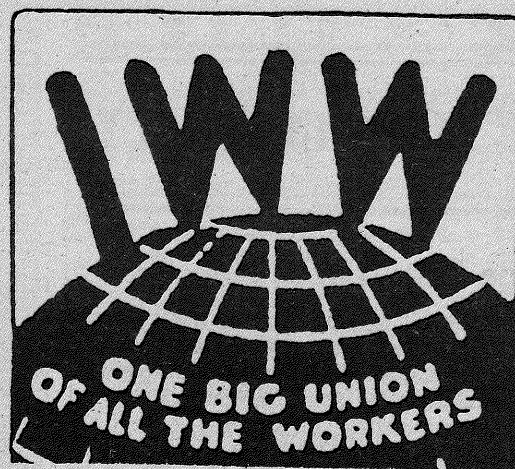


★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World



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SEPTEMBER 1988

50 CENTS

Greenpeace Closes Seattle Phone Bank In Response to IWW Organizing Drive



Discharged Greenpeace phone bank workers protested August 18 outside Seattle's Greenpeace offices. 50 supporters representing several groups turned out in support.

On Monday, August 8 the Seattle Greenpeace phone Bank was shut down. This was a blatant attempt to crush a union organizing drive mounted by the Seattle Greenpeace Workers' Organizing Committee (IU 670, IWW). The work of the Seattle phone bank will be transferred to the Boston Greenpeace office where there is currently no union organizing drive.

Last June, Greenpeace's National Phone Bank Director Lisa Goldberg implemented new policies at the Seattle phone bank including insensitive, high pressure telemarketing techniques and plans for illegal audio surveillance of phone calls. Dissatisfied with the local implementation of her edicts, she had the phone bank supervisor removed and arrived July 7 to take control of the phone room herself. During her brief tenure she carried out selective reprisals (firing and probation) against union members who played an active and visible role protesting these policies. The shutdown came in response to the union's nationwide publicity campaign. The organizing committee is demanding that all workers be reinstated. Other demands include recogni-

tion of the union, no electronic phone surveillance, an end to high pressure telemarketing techniques and negotiations for a more democratic workplace.

On Thursday, August 18 more than 50 demonstrators picketed in front of Greenpeace NW headquarters in Seattle carrying signs with slogans such as "Save Greenpeace From Toxic Management" and "Greenpeace Needs A Union." Marching behind the IWW banner and chanting "Union Busting Is Disgusting" and "Give the Wobs Back Their Jobs," the group moved to the lawn directly in front of the Greenpeace offices for a brief rally. Allen Thompson spoke for the Seattle Greenpeace Workers' Organizing Committee and was followed by a number of statements of support from individuals and organizations.

Other activities include a demonstration in front of a Seattle benefit concert for Greenpeace, the filing of unfair labor practice charges and further national publicity and outreach including dialogue with other Greenpeace workers both locally and throughout North America.

Police crack-down continues

South African Workers Strengthen Solidarity

Recent statistics compiled by Andrew Levy & Associates indicate that members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) won pay hikes averaging 18 percent in 1987, far higher than comparable wage hikes for other workers regardless of skin color. COSATU members were the only group to win wage increases above the inflation rate.

At a special COSATU Congress held in May of this year, however, there was sharp conflict between proponents of a specifically workingclass struggle based on revolutionary industrial unions and proponents of a multi-class alliance aimed at installing a new government that would continue capitalism but would allow blacks greater political rights. This conflict has been growing for over a year as prominent COSATU leaders have increasingly sought to entangle the union in such a popular front, and to subordinate it to the African National Congress. Also controversial have been recent efforts by transnational corporations to impose "participative management" schemes on their workers, with Ford workers striking over a deal where management proposed to sign over 24 percent of company stock to a union trust. "We don't want to be small capitalists, we're workers," one striker explained.

The May Congress was called in response to the ongoing government crackdown under which COSATU continues to be barred from a wide range of activities and to proposed legislation which would substantially restrict workers' rights to strike, outlaw solidarity action in industrial disputes, and make unions liable for damages caused employers by industrial actions. COSATU notes that "Solidarity actions... are the very basis of (our) existence. It is to strengthen solidarity action that we build one big union in each industry."

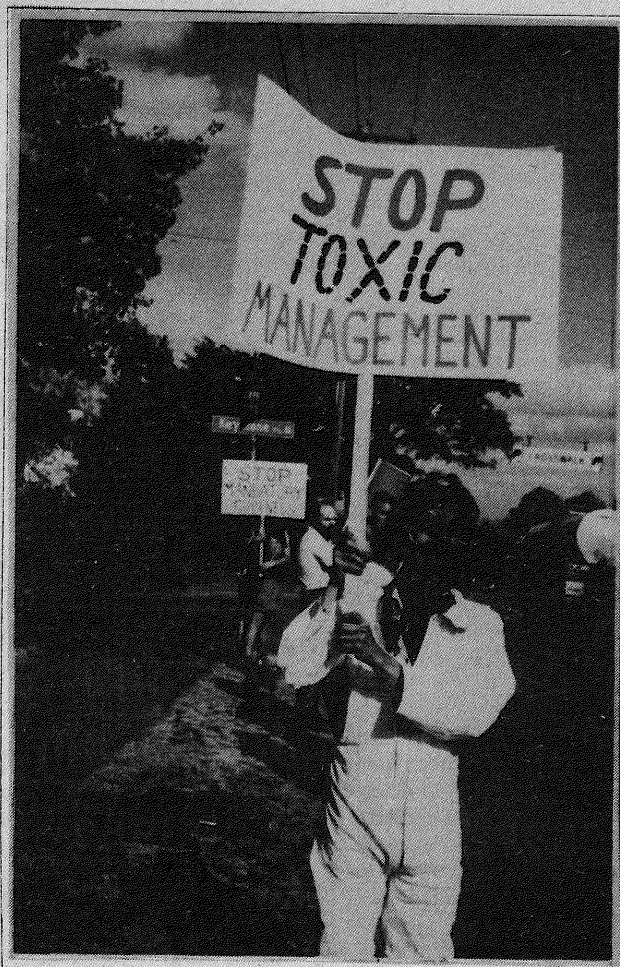
The successful June general strike and a series of local factory demonstrations were launched in response to this government offensive, and the union decided to seek closer

working relations with the rival--though much smaller--blacks-only National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). While the union is wracked by internal dissension, it continues to grow and recently affiliated several textile and garment workers unions. Even the most severely afflicted unions (such as the Commercial, Catering, and Allied Workers Union) had continued to mount successful strikes and organize effective solidarity. CCAWUSA, for example, recently won recognition from South Africa's three dominant fast-food chains.

The police crack-down continues unabated, with police arresting union activists and officials, closing union facilities and taking control of union meetings. In Port Elizabeth, for example, more than 100 police surrounded a building where a COSATU local was meeting May 24th. Police photographed everyone present and took down their names, and then informed participants that no discussion of the recent COSATU Congress would be permitted. Three days later, Johannesburg police detained 250 CCAWUSA members demonstrating outside the Carlton Hotel over an ongoing wage dispute.

Vigilante attacks against union members and officers also continue. In several parts of the country, COSATU has formed workers' defense committees to protect its members against police-Inkatha vigilante attacks which have included beatings, arson and murder. COSATU's South Natal regional Chair narrowly survived an assassination attempt earlier this year. Bus drivers--who play a key role in the success of general strikes--have been singled out for attack as well. On January 16th, Phineas Mdluli was shot dead on the job by assassins in two cars. The next day, drivers for the Sizanani company struck. When they returned to work, they refused to work early morning or evening shifts because of the danger and were able to enforce this through direct action (and were able to force the company to

(continued on page 3)



Greenpeace workers send out a call for continent-wide support. See page 4 for more details.

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EDITORIAL

The Dawn of A New Era

Does the will to dominate exist in all of us? Is it conceivable that we are unable to transcend—mere physiological organisms that we are—a rudimentary instinctual function which once served to ensure the survival of our biological ancestors, but which we have since let fall into disuse? Or is this trait merely the symptom of a maladapted personality, as Freud would have it. Whether instinctual, or borne of the developing personality, might not this question bring us as well to the very root of the political instinct?

We recently noticed an article in the July issue of *Freedom* which deals explicitly with this theme, and we consider it worth consulting. It was entitled "Authoritarian Anarchists" and it limits itself—for the most part—to a discussion of the authoritarian personality-type as a social phenomenon within the anarchist movement. "We anarchists are forever pointing out the weaknesses and contradictions of the political movements with which we are in disagreement," the author begins. "Trotskyists, as one example, we brand as authoritarians. Now this may well be true in terms of politics, yet as far as the individual goes, it is another matter. In my more than twenty years in the libertarian movement, I have never met any Trots quite as authoritarian as some so-called anarchists and, as far as slander-mongering goes, they could teach the Leninists a thing or two." It goes on:

The connection between one's politics and one's personality can be very peculiar, especially in the case of the *authoritarian anarchist*. This unfortunate individual likes to dominate others but not be dominated himself. They are soon forced out of hierarchical structures, which might seem their natural home, but the desire to dominate is so strong that the alternative, *individualist* anarchism gives no satisfaction—they must have an audience, even if only ten people. Their insecurity is so great that all challenges and differences of opinion are turned into "matters of principle" for fear makes them extremely intolerant.

Upon joining an organization, they immediately begin to manipulate the consensus procedure, a task at which they are masters. Through aggressive behaviour and the wearing down of opponents in long-drawn-out meetings, they force the group to adopt their positions. Those who challenge their authority eventually drop out and the remaining members are a mixture of yes-men and those who admit, "Yes, he's an asshole, but..." Authoritarian anarchists are very energetic and so make themselves indispensable, hence many people grudgingly tolerate them.

The author tells us that through sheer persistence the authoritarian anarchist eventually becomes an installation, even attains guru status, and his opinions and prejudices begin to carry weight within the movement. Because of his "infallibility" and intolerance, those who respond to his baiting are treated as enemies "to be suppressed by any means, fair or foul." Opponents are branded as revisionists and opportunists. Invariably, the authoritarian anarchist possesses and upholds "the correct line," unlike his opponents (who become revisionists, liberals, Leninists, Trotskyists, vanguardists, reformists, whichever label suits the situation).

The article concludes by pointing out that we must recognize and utilize to its fullest extent that which we hold in common, rather than compete with one another in order to determine who are to be the dictators of the future "workers' state"; that we must look upon our movement as "a bunch of friends trying to help ourselves and others out of a bad situation."

Dogmatism, the will to dominate, bad faith, rhetorical absolutism—these *all-too-familiar* leftist traits have for too many years fouled whatever potential has existed for a forceful and decisive movement toward freedom for the working class. Not a freedom that can be defined or in any way restricted by one person or one group, but freedom that can be shared by one and all *on their own terms*. What, after all, are we fighting for?

We do not pretend to be infallible. There is no "correct line" in this organization of rebels, nor has there ever been. As our numbers grow, so too grows our spirit and the strength of our conviction. Sustained upon that spirit, firmly attached to our radical tradition, we have watched scores of authoritarians, anarchists or otherwise, come and go. With or without them, it makes little difference. We're all One Big Union.

X337089

Fellow Workers,

Earth First! is just one organization among many that are radical environmentalist. Many of us in the IWW and the larger labor movement have advocated and organized around environmentalism on the job. Though most would call this organizing around "health and safety issues," it is important to point out that the workers are always the front line when it comes to exposure to the hazards produced in today's world. The movement is much larger than Earth First! and includes a lot of workingclass environmentalists within the labor movement. For instance, the United Farm Workers' fight against pesticides not only fought for the workers and their families, but also for the health of the entire community.

The IWW is our only hope—there is nothing else to look to for answers and action. Earth First! does some real nice things and I wish them well. And I like the *Industrial Worker* dealing with outside organizations and different issues. But while you are doing this, please do not forget about us green Wobblies on the job fighting at the point of production!

The difference between the IWW and Earth First! is that we want to bring about a social revolution where the workers seize their tools and instill social responsibility into production. We have an answer to the problem; we don't just fight the problem. Earth First! can monkeywrench forever and not come any closer to defeating the enemy. The enemy is mass capitalist industrialization which has no regard for the Earth or for human rights. The IWW is out to organize the only group that has the power to win: the workers. I see no other way of doing it.

In solidarity,

Arthur J. Miller
San Diego, CA

To the Editors:

The *Industrial Worker* is looking much better lately, and the "Radical Environmentalism" issue is one of the best I've ever seen. It's especially good to know that there is at least one labor paper in North America with the courage to sympathetically discuss wildlife protection and animals' rights. As I'm sure you are aware, no AFL-CIO paper dares even to mention the horrible oppression and slaughter of animals for profit—for the same reason that they don't dare to mention any of the other crimes of capitalism. Even the so-called "radical" press tends to avoid the issue, no doubt under the ridiculous delusion that to discuss it openly would "alienate" workers. As if concealment of the truth, and fear of open debate, could serve the cause of labor! And as if the capitalists who are massacring animals in their seal-hunts, factory farms and mad-scientist laboratories are not the very same capitalists who are exploiting the working class!

Keep it up! An injury to one is an injury to all!

Albert the Alligator
Sauk City, WI

Dear *Industrial Worker*,

We were delighted with the May "Radical Environmentalism" issue of the newspaper. It arrived just in time for extensive distribution at Minneapolis' May Day Celebration, an annual event that exemplifies the spirit of May Day red, black and green that you commemorate in this issue.

To see the growing consciousness of planet preservation within an organization with an industrial urban base is heartening, to say the least. In our own work in the community and labor movements, we have seen a growing understanding of the connection between environmental preservation and the struggle for workers' rights. The working alliance between the IWW and Earth First!, the most militant group within the environmental movement, is an idea whose time has come.

Finally, we would like to commend you for the daring of moving one step further toward the personal liberation that surrealism represents.

Here's to one great union on a green and growing planet!

In solidarity,

Denise Mayotte & Sal Salerno
Minneapolis, MN

Fellow Workers,

I was disconcerted to see so many articles in the May issue promoting an anti-meat-eater, anti-hunter perspective.

For years I have worked as a union organizer in rural America. Many workers I have helped organize have been avid hunters, fishermen and (horrors) steak-eaters. Should the *Industrial Worker* choose to join the chorus of those who blindly offer moral condemnation of sportsmen and meat-eaters, you will simply reduce your effectiveness in convincing many rural workers that you have anything to say that they want to hear.

The *Industrial Worker* should be a forum for a wide range of ideas to help educate and provoke. However, should you decide to attack activities or lifestyles that millions of workers find rewarding and enjoyable, you simply increase the odds that you will be ineffective and irrelevant.

Jim Slingluff
Tucson, AZ



Dear IWW,

Thanks for the copies of your "Radical Environmentalism" edition. I took them to a recent Appalachian rendezvous of our group in the Monongahela National Forest of West Virginia and distributed them. They were very well received.

I enclose my check for a three-year subscription to the *Industrial Worker*.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Mueller
Virginia Earth First!

Dear *Industrial Worker*,

I'm surprised to see the IWW so friendly to the Earth First! bunch. Judging from what I've read about it elsewhere, EF! sounds like a pretty obnoxious organization. Last year one of the Chicago papers said that EF! openly advocates terrorism, and that its violent tactics have severely injured many workers in the lumber industry. According to other sources, EF! is a white supremacist group, and its leaders officially support the AIDS virus as a way of reducing overpopulation. This is pretty weird stuff! But the material you printed was very appealing, so I'm confused. Have you guys heard any of these rumors? Are any of the charges true? How are we supposed to know what to believe about Earth First!? Help!!!

Sincerely yours,

Vera L. Ostrowski
Lake Bluff, IL

Editors' Reply:

Yes, we've heard all these crazy rumors (and some others besides); no, none of them are true. For more details, see the article, "Earth First! vs. the Rumor-Mongers," elsewhere in this issue. And why not learn more about Earth First! straight from the grizzly bear's mouth? The EF! journal is only \$15 a year from P. O. Box 5871, Tucson AZ 85703 (or send \$2 for a sample copy).

Dear Workers,

I was mightily impressed with the May issue. It's about time the *Industrial Worker* took up this cause, the ultimate issue. This is not to imply that the IWW hasn't been in the vanguard of saving the Earth before. Most of what one sees is too little, too late. Refreshing to read it in worker literature.

I enclose a check for \$5 for a one-year subscription and a selection of your "stick-ettes."

Best regards,

E. G. Nassar
Detroit, MI

Dear Friends,

Enclosed is a check for \$100 because I love your efforts to bring together workers and environmentalists. I just finished reading the May issue and you really see the connections! An Earth First! friend in Bozeman gave me a copy. Please send me twenty more—I want to send it to my more conservative environmental friends in the Audubon Society, Sierra Club, etc.

I work mostly with Food First, Earth Island Institute in San Francisco, Witness for Peace, and Beyond War, and then human rights groups like Amnesty International.

Maybe some of you people could come to our yearly rendezvous at Boulder Hot Springs—an old, run-down and very informal resort in lovely country. We camp there on mattresses and do our own cooking.

Don't forget those twenty extra copies!

Sincerely,

Louise Bowman
Livingston, MT

Greetings, Fellow Workers,

Just a note to let you all know that we think the *Industrial Worker* has greatly improved in style and content. From the masthead to the graphics the paper looks great! Relevant theme issues are a big improvement over the condensed version of the New York Times.

We appreciate all the hard work and talent expended on our behalf. Thanks, Fellow Workers!

In our experience the "Radical Environmentalism" issue was well received by the folks we've talked to. Of course, others have found otherwise. Controversy is good for circulation, eh?

So long, see ya later, keep up the good work!

Melissa Roberts X329953
Rick Beck X330624
Allan Anger X333306
Barb Hansen X328894
Tacoma/Olympia (WA) IWW Branch

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World

ONE UNION LABEL ONE ENEMY

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EARTH FIRST! VS. THE RUMOR-MONGERS

The May issue of the *Industrial Worker*, featuring Radical Environmentalism and especially the most radical environmentalists of all, the Earth First! movement, has provoked more enthusiastic discussion and action—and more controversy—than any issue of the paper in many a long year. Even before it went to press word got around the Union regarding its content, and bulk orders started pouring in from branches, delegates and individual members to such an extent that we had to print 10,000 copies—not bad for a paper which, six months earlier, had a monthly press-run of only 3000.

Fellow Worker Bruce "Utah" Phillips, one of the greatest living Wobbly bards, recently called Earth First! "the IWW of the environmental movement." Since everyone knows that IWW, historically, signifies the most radical, most active, most creative, most daring, most effective, as well as sassiest, gutsiest, funniest, toughest and all-around best-in-its-class, this is a good description of EF!'s position in the environmental spectrum. Emphasizing that the roots of today's global ecological crisis lie in the inherently ecocidal patriarchal-industrial-capitalist system (and recognizing that USSR-style "state socialism" is just more of the same crap under another name), EF'ers have also perceived that you can't change this system by playing according to its repressive rules, and that militant *direct action*, Wobbly-style, is the most effective instrument of radical social transformation.

In the May *Industrial Worker* Wobblies and Earth First'ers—including several who are Wobblies and Earth First'ers—explored some of their many philosophical and practical points in common. Our specific aim was to promote a greater understanding of EF! among IWW members and sympathizers, and to introduce EF'ers to the IWW heritage and program. Our broader hope was to effect a greater degree of common action and mutual aid between the two movements in their struggle to "subvert the dominant paradigm" and to protect the Earth from its profit-hungry corporate destroyers.

Once the May issue hit the stands our wildest hopes regarding its impact were quickly exceeded. It became clear at once that young rebel workers are far more interested in radical environmentalism than even we had realized. Moreover, from all over the continent reports have been coming in showing that Wobblies and EF'ers are eager not only to learn from each other but also to take action together to effect our common goals. And last but not least, more new memberships, new subscriptions, new bulk orders, renewals of lapsed subs and contributions to the *Industrial Worker* sustaining fund have come into IWW headquarters since May than in any comparable period in anyone's memory.

Yes, fellow workers, the IWW is growing today as it has not grown in years, and there is no getting around the fact that one of the reasons it is growing is because of our fortuitous encounter—now increasingly taking on the character of an active, ongoing combat alliance—with the international Earth First! movement.

On page 2 of this *Industrial Worker* you will find a small sampling of correspondence—pro and con—generated by the May issue. It is notable that, of the scores of letters and phone-calls that have come our way in this regard, almost all have been positive, urging that the IWW's radical environmentalist dimension is a crucial part of our heritage that we must actively renew and develop today.

A couple of these letters mention various weird and slanderous rumors that have been circulating about EF!, primarily in Reaganite publications but also in some obscure organs of the sectarian "Left." The editors of the *Industrial Worker* had heard these mostly baseless allegations before and, knowing that they had been ably refuted, were surprised to see them surface again: It was like hearing someone tell us that during World War I the IWW was receiving funds from Kaiser Wilhelm.

However, because the Far Right (and sectarian Left) anti-EF! propaganda offensive has been given such prominence in the bourgeois

media in recent months, and evidently has even affected a few folks in the radical workers' movement, it seems worthwhile to take a closer look at these accusations.

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First of all it should be made clear that Earth First! is not an organization but a *movement*. It does not have members or officers or a Constitution or dues. EF! was started by activists who were unanimous on only one thing: the urgency of nonviolently defending wildlife, wilderness and our whole natural environment against the ruinous ravages of industrial profiteers. On other matters they allowed themselves a wide latitude of opinion, and to this day philosophical and political diversity is as much a hallmark of EF! as it is of the IWW. A recent EF! tabloid notes that EF'ers range "from animal rights vegetarians to wilderness hunting guides, from monkeywrenchers to careful followers of Gandhi, from rowdy backwoods buckaroos to thoughtful philosophers, from bitter misanthropes to true humanitarians."

EF!'s fidelity to the motto, "No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth!" has had important consequences. Their free-spirited, imaginative and humorous direct actions have inevitably and constantly brought them into direct conflict with the bureaucratic, anti-imaginative and absolutely humorless capitalist class, capitalist state and capitalist press. For their bold efforts to save redwood forests and grizzly bear from the money-hungry morons in charge of civilization, countless EF'ers have been rewarded with involuntary sojourns in various American jails, and not long ago the FBI announced that it was keeping close tabs on this latest menace to the bourgeoisie's "national security."

EF!'s open-ended, non-hierarchical, anarchistic, dis-organizational form of non-organization undoubtedly has its strengths, but it also has its weaknesses. Structured political organizations usually have a hierarchical leadership, a carefully spelled-out platform, a rigorously controlled official organ aimed at the public

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With apologies to the famous cartoonists who made this gathering possible....

Pennsylvania State Workers Accept New Offer

The strike that nobody expected, which was called "Quixotic" and "admirable" by observers, ended on July 21st when 73 percent of the members of Pennsylvania Social Services Union (Local 668, SEIU) ratified a new three-year contract (see *Pennsylvania State Workers Strike Against Union-Busters*, August). The offer that was approved was richer in dollars than the one rejected four weeks earlier, with top increases of 18 to 21 percent, but it still had

the two-tier wage and vacation structure that PSSU president Paul Krissel and many of the rank and file had vowed to end. The union's concession on the "end two-tier" demand can be traced to fears that extending the strike much further in the brutal July heat wave would lead to collapse of the action in some of the weaker chapters followed by an isolation of the stronger ones. This eventually would have enabled the state to put the original

"AFSCME contract" back on the table and to force its acceptance.

That this was avoided—that little PSSU (12,000 members) achieved a better contract than the compliant giant which is four times bigger—is a tribute to the strategic sense and rapport with its membership of this democratically structured union. Also important in bringing the strike to an end was a desire on the part of the union to restore operations in the welfare and unemployment offices before the work standstill led to widespread hardship for poor and jobless clients. No strike of state employees in Pennsylvania has ever exceeded three weeks, the last strike of this duration being the PSSU strike of 1975. It is significant, however, that in Western Pennsylvania, where union traditions and hatred of two-tierism are strongest, some shops rejected the new offer by almost unanimous margins.

As a part of the ratified agreement, the existing leave structure was secured against any unilateral cuts by the state. PSSU will use continuing committee discussion of the leave question to seek a graduated phase-out of the two-tier structure. Another feature of the settlement is the granting of agency shop status to Local 668. The union will, in effect, collect a representation fee from non-members equal to 85 percent of dues. This proposal has been popular with rank-and-file members who resent the coat-tailing of non-members and scabs. It is also a windfall for the union treasury. There are those who fear that the cushioning effect of "agency shop" status will dampen the organization's drive to recruit active members. This is undoubtedly behind the decision of management officials to allow such a clause in the agreement. Three years from now, when the PSSU contract comes up for renewal, the combined effects of two-tier and agency shop will be more clearly seen.

Joseph Jablonski



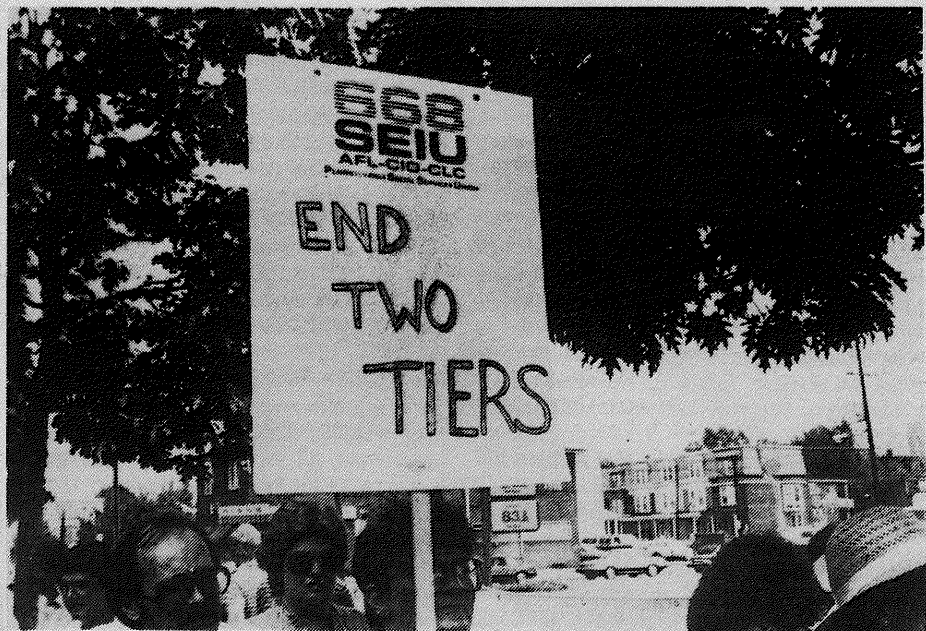
South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

rehire scores of drivers dismissed for participating in the campaign). But attacks on bus drivers continue. More recently, Patrick Magwasa, an assistant shop steward of the drivers union, was shot dead in his home.

While the number of strikes is down somewhat from 1987's record levels, workers continue to strike in all industries and in all parts of the country demanding pay hikes, union recognition, reinstatement of union activists, equitable hiring and promotion policies, etc.. With the ongoing crackdown against the unions, the suspension of several alternative newspapers, and the heavy self-censorship of the surviving papers, current information on the struggles of our South African fellow workers is increasingly difficult to come by. Even the heavily censored pages of the *Johannesburg Star*, however, make it clear that the government and employers have by no means succeeded in breaking the back of the unions and that the government is losing support even among the white population. (Sources: *South Africa Labour Bulletin*, *Work in Progress*, *South Africa Press Clips*, and the *Johannesburg Star*).

Jon Bekken





The present worldwide economic system pollutes everything it touches including even our cultural lives. The Muse's chastity has long been violated by the practitioners of free enterprise. Here in Chicago, a group of young Thai students have been spearheading a protest against the august Chicago Art Institute. It seems that this venerable institution had acquired a carved stone lintel from an ancient temple in Thailand as a gift from a wealthy art "collector". This particular lintel—depicting the Hindu diety Vishnu—which had reclined at the temple site in the Thai jungle for over a millenium and had been declared a national treasure by the Thai government, had somehow taken its leave of Thai soil during the Viet Nam war with neither the Thai's cognizance nor permission. Some years later, a wealthy American art "collector", James W. Alsdorf, generously donated this lintel to the Chicago Art Institute. It has been said that he "purchased" the lintel in this country, though it has not been disclosed from whom he made the "purchase".

Upon hearing of the whereabouts of the lintel the Thai government pressed for its return. The Art Institute, after considerable prodding by Thai officials as well as by Thais residing in the US, offered to "loan" the piece to Thailand if they would send the institute another piece of equal value and quality. This generous offer on the part of the Chicago Art Institute sparked an immediate outburst of indignation from the stateside Thai community.

Imagine someone stealing something from you and then offering to return it to you only if you gave the culprit something of equal value. If you or I were to try something like that, Gentle Reader, we would land behind bars quickly, but governments and big people can do such things with impunity.

Just ask my Uncle Hornplanter as to the honesty of governments.

The Thai government has expressed a willingness to present the Art Institute with a goodwill gift in appreciation for the return of the stolen lintel, but that august institution of cultural advancement, knowing it had a good thing (possession being nine-tenths of the law) made the "equal value" offer.

Thai students and other residents of Freedomland did not take too kindly to the equal value offer and have been organizing protests in front of the Art Institute, bringing with them other "third world" artists as well as elements of the white art community who do not hold to the "ivory tower" ethic.

The robbery of ancient treasures by modern Western museums is a time-honoured practice. There is not an ancient culture that hasn't had its historical heritage plundered and sold to art museums in Europe and the United States or to some rich private collector who—not satisfied with living off the stolen surplus value of millions of underpaid workers—seeks further infamy by bequeathing stolen art to some "cultural" institution. The beauty of artistic creation is just another commodity to those of the parasite class.

There is an old Mexican folk saying that translates, "He that wears stolen clothes, walks naked in the streets". But only an unsophisticated child dares to notice that the emperor has no clothes on. Imperialism, having no respect for a people's territorial integrity, naturally has no respect for another people's cultural integrity and consequently has no integrity of its own. One who is capable of producing has no need to deprive others of their production.

It must be further recognized that imperialism could not very easily exist without its companion malady, racism. One has to rationalize the robbery of someone else with the belief that their victim is somehow inferior and not really appreciative of what is being taken away.

I remember once having worked for a bookstore where I would accompany the proprietor when he went to buy someone's library, with which he would then stock his antiquarian department. He would cull out the best of what they had and then offer a pittance. I had told my

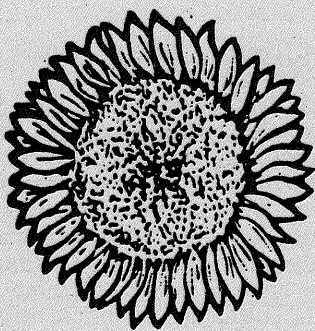
employer that I would be damned if I would let my personal library be bought by some second-hand book dealer for peanuts. He hastened to assure me that he didn't think those people were the owners of such good books; they just didn't seem the bookish type to him. Thus, before ripping someone off, the victims innate inferiority always provides a good rationale.

Many of these student protesters, artists and non-artists as well as Thai and other "third world" people have been forming coalitions to not only confront the Chicago Art Institute in its hypocrisy but to inform the public in general in the hopes of getting more people involved.

One thing that rankles your scribe is that not only are these art museums willing to obtain through unethical means the artistic production of non-Western cultures but that these same institutions never display the contemporary art of these same cultures. One would get the impression from these august institutions that non-Western cultures stopped producing art a thousand years ago, such is the conspicuous absence of such work in these galleries.

The Chicago Art Institute has on display a wonderful collection of pre-Columbian Mexican art but I also happen to know that there is a considerable collection of contemporary Mexican art that never leaves the storage rooms. The Art Institute also has a large display of the ancient art of various Asiatic cultures but again no contemporary art from those regions. The same can be said for African and native American Indian art. All of these aforementioned cultures have vigorous contemporary art movements but if you were to judge by what is displayed at the Institute, you would think that these peoples are either extinct or are no longer capable of producing art.

One cannot help but wonder why the rich cultural output of over two-thirds of the world's peoples is ignored. Could the art moguls of the Western world have some fear of competition from their cultural inferiors? Or is it merely that non-Western art has yet to be



thoroughly integrated into the art market?

It might not be so easy to sell the work of a dead painter for millions of dollars when there are so many living painters who are perfectly willing to be a bit more reasonable in their prices. With the time-honoured capitalist laws of supply and demand, dead painters are of course more profitable—as well as being easier to manage.

Since the rash of demonstrations against the Art Institute (one such manifestation drew over 400 demonstrators), the lintel was removed from display with no official explanation offered. One of Chicago's Puerto Rican aldermen introduced a resolution calling for the unconditional return of the lintel back to Thailand, while also reminding the Art Institute that they receive a healthy amount of their operating budget from the city's taxpayers.

Under our present system, imperialism manifests itself in many different ways. The system you live under is not only hazardous to your health but stultifying to your cultural advancement. Unfortunately, the only cultural advancement that is encouraged under today's system is the fattening of the purses of the culture salesmen.

C. C. Redcloud

More Great Victories for Labor

Leafing through a recent issue of the AFL-CIO News (August 13), two reports of major labor "victories" caught my eye. The lead on the first, which ran to the bottom of page 1, reads: "Successfully culminating a 13-year legal battle, the Steelworkers won a \$300,000 settlement for 60... employees of Smoke-Craft, INC., whose seniority rights were denied by the food company following a 1975 strike."

The article goes on to explain that the union was decertified in 1976, and has not had any members at the plant since that time, and quotes a USWA officer as "Proud to have been able to achieve justice for our former members." Rather than strike or carry out industrial action when the company refused, in 1975, to recall workers in accordance with its union contract, the USWA filed a grievance. In 1976 an arbitrator ruled in the union's favor. Smoke-Craft refused to comply, so the union sued—winning in district court in 1978. They

How many such victories can labor afford?

won on appeal in 1981. They won again when the Supreme Court upheld the ruling. Victory after victory, but in the meantime the union lost its presence on the shop floor, workers lost their jobs, and the union racked up immense legal bills.

Lest you think this an anomaly, page 2 contains news of yet another victory: "After a seven-year legal battle, the National Labor Relations Board has ordered the Venture Stores division of May Department Stores to recognize and bargain with" the UFCW.

Workers at 11 Illinois Venture stores voted to reaffiliate from the United Retail Workers to the UFCW by a better than two-to-one margin but Venture refused to recognize the local and ended the dues check-off.

The UFCW comes out better than the Steelworkers, though one suspects that during the seven years in the courts the rank and file base of the union has been eroded significantly—something that may not overly trouble the piecards at UFCW headquarters who, after all, have their hands full busting rebellious locals.

How many such victories can labor afford? Ignoring, for the moment, the immense legal fees required to prosecute these cases for years, how are workers to live while their right to their jobs is being adjudicated for 13 years? How likely is it that any sort of viable union can survive on the job without being able to represent its members for such prolonged periods of time? And what sort of message does it send to our fellow workers when our unions rely on the courts and labor boards—rather than on our industrial power?

It's time to take our struggles back to the industrial arena. Relying on politicians and courts for justice is little better than trusting to the benevolence of the employing class. Even when you win, you've really lost. The sad thing is both cases could easily have been won through basic solidarity.

Smoke-Craft is part of the conglomerate International Multifoods. Venture is owned by May Department Stores. International Multifoods could have been brought to terms through industrial action by retail and transport workers on the job. Venture workers could have tried a slowdown or work-to-rule to bring their employers to heel; had that failed, a national picket of May Co. stores would soon have had the desired effect. Such forms of industrial solidarity are of course illegal. But at seven to thirteen years, who can afford to follow the law?

JB

Calling All Wobs!

Greenpeace thinks it can run away from the IWW by moving its phone bank out of Seattle. Let's show them that it ain't so! Interested in part-time work? Greenpeace is usually hiring. And it's obvious they could use some union organizers among their ranks. If you can't go to work at Greenpeace, see if you can get to know those who do and let them know about the IWW and the struggle at Seattle Greenpeace. Also let Greenpeace management

know what you think of their union-busting tactics. Phone calls and letters of protest will help to teach Greenpeace that it isn't green to bust a union. (Please send copies of letters to the Seattle Greenpeace Workers' Organizing Committee, 412 63rd, Seattle, WA 98115). Financial contributions to the organizing drive are welcomed. Make checks payable to the IWW.

Add heading: GREENPEACE OFFICES

139 Main Street
Cambridge, MA 02142
(617) 576-1651

312 Main Street
Amherst, MA 01002
(413) 256-1439

265 Alexander Street
Rochester, NY 14607
(716) 325-6155/6159

152 Temple Street #509
New Haven, CT 06510
(203) 785-0198

806 South Third #3
Jacksonville Beach, FL 32250
(904) 241-4310

400 West Washington
Ann Arbor, MI 48103
(313) 761-1996

1234 NW 25th Street
Portland, OR 97210
(503) 241-1507

Ft. Mason Center, Bldg. E
San Francisco, CA 94123
(415) 474-6767

112B Ocean Street
Santa Cruz, CA 95060
(408) 429-9988

2100 South Broadway
Los Angeles, CA 90007
(213) 746-1570

1310 College Ave. #301
Boulder, CO 80302
(303) 440-3381

2637 Nicollet Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55408
(612) 874-0320

1403 Rio Grande
Austin, TX 78701
(512) 474-2117

732 West 6th Street
Eugene, OR 97401
(503) 342-1999

16 South 40th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104
(215) 387-1822

1638 R. Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 667-7814

20 13th Street NE
Atlanta, GA 30309
(404) 874-7585/8551

3909 4th Avenue #201
San Diego, CA 92163
(619) 298-1010

96 Spring Street, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10012
(212) 941-0994

1509 1/2 Westport
Kansas City, MO 64111
(816) 531-3884

1017 West Jackson, 2nd Floor
Chicago, IL 60607
(312) 666-3305

132 East Wilson
Madison, WI 53703
(608) 251-2661

2623 West 4th Avenue
Vancouver, BC V6K 1P8 Canada
(604) 736-0321

1711B 16th Street NW
Calgary, Alberta T2M 3P1 Canada
(403) 284-9376

#1--708 Jessie Ave.
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3M 1A5 Canada
(204) 452-1958

CP151 Succursale Delorissier
Montreal, Quebec H2H 2N6 Canada
(514) 274-5559

427 Bloor Street West #58
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X7
(416) 922-3011

PO Box 104432
Anchorage, AK 99510

The Columbine Massacre

Why Do We Need a Monument?

Colorado--host to the bloody battles of the Western Federation of Miners in Telluride and Cripple Creek at the turn of the century, and to the infamous Ludlow massacre in 1914--was once more to play the role of hired gun for John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in the IWW coal strike of 1927.

Following the Ludlow disaster, Rockefeller suffered serious public condemnation and had instituted a "company union" in an attempt to co-opt labor in his Colorado holdings. He owned the largest steel mill west of the Mississippi, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in Pueblo, and controlled most of the coal mines in the Trinidad, Walsenburg, Ludlow district--known as the Southern Field. These mines fueled his steel mill. There were two other large coal operations in Colorado, the Victor American Fuel Company in the Southern Field and the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company in the northern fields; but Rockefeller's CF & I was the Alpha dog of coal in Colorado. Colorado was the sixth largest coal-producing state in the U.S. during this period and the largest west of the Mississippi. Rockefeller's company union worked as you would expect and left the miners frustrated and powerless.

Meanwhile, after exhaustive and very expensive defeats in Colorado in 1893-4, 1903-4, and again in 1910-15, the United Mine Workers of America's executive board trusted District 15, replaced the militant leaders in Colorado with milksops and decided to

Feeling abandoned by the UMWA and frustrated by Rockefeller's company union, Colorado's coal miners were seething.

concentrate its organizing efforts in the eastern coal fields where it was heavily engaged with the capitalist class during the twenties. When the boom years in the Colorado coal fields declined following WWI, the operators demanded that the miners accept a pay cut. Feeling abandoned by the UMWA and frustrated by Rockefeller's company union, Colorado's coal miners were seething.

In spite of the rag-tag condition of the IWW following the Palmer Raids, the financially devastating effect of the long trials, and the internal splits following the Russian Revolution, there were several IWW organizers in Colorado during the early twenties who would not give up hope for the *one big union*.

A.S. Embree was one of those. Fresh out of prison, he immersed himself once more in the workers' struggle for freedom and dignity. From prison Embree had written, "The end in view (the revolution) is well worth striving for, but in the struggle itself lies the happiness of the fighter."

In late summer, 1927, Wobbly organizers called for a three-day work stoppage in conjunction with national protests against the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti. To the surprise of everyone, including Embree, 1,132 of 1,167 miners in the Walsenburg District stayed out of the pits, making Colorado's demonstration the most successful in the nation. Embree understood that this reaction was not due to sympathy for Sacco and Vanzetti but due to a deeply held and explosive resentment of the coal companies.

In September the Wobbly organizers called a conference to organize a statewide coal strike. One hundred eighty-seven delegates from 43 mines met to draft a list of strike demands and to make preparations for the strike. The demands were the same as they had been since the first Knights of Labor strike in 1893--an eight-hour day, increased wages, the right to be paid in currency rather than in company script, the right to trade where they pleased, pay for "dead work" (timbering, etc.), and a union checkweighman, but primarily, the right to organize and join their own unions. As always, the IWW's commitment to democratic principles was demonstrated by the fact that all committees were composed only of miners, all ethnic groups were represented, and IWW organizers served only as non-vot-



ing advisors. October 18 became the strike date.

On the first day of the strike 6,340 miners (half of Colorado's 12,690 coal miners) laid down their tools. As the strike reached its full momentum, 12,000 miners had joined the walkout, making it the most complete strike in Colorado's history. For the first time, coal miners on the west slope of Colorado joined

their brothers and sisters in the northern and southern fields on the east slope to virtually paralyze the coal industry in the state. This was achieved through the Wobbly innovation of sending roving pickets to the mines on the west slope which spread the strike, kept the strikers busy with productive activity, and kept their morale high.

Only a few mines continued to operate with

After Ludlow:

Rockefeller and the "Colorado Industrial Plan"

A more sophisticated and more widely employed manifestation of corporate "welfarism" was the "employee representation plan", or "company union", originally developed in a programmatic form by John D. Rockefeller. The events surrounding its genesis highlight factors that sometimes influenced labor relations policy. The "Colorado Industrial Plan" or "Rockefeller Plan" was developed in the wake of the Ludlow Massacre of 1914. In 1913, the United Mine Workers Union had successfully organized the Rockefeller-dominated Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and had presented a list of demands including a 10 percent wage increase, observance of the state mining laws, discharge of armed guards, free choice of boardinghouses and doctors, and, most important, union recognition. After the local management refused to bargain with the union, the men walked off their jobs and were summarily evicted from their company-owned homes along with their wives and children. A virtual civil war brewed as a union organizer was murdered, strikers armed themselves, and the governor ordered the entire National Guard to the scene. The strikers were out for over eight months, residing in a tent colony with their families until the infamous night of Easter 1914 when "company employed gunmen and members of the National Guard drenched the strikers' tents with oil. They ignited them after the miners and their families were asleep. When the miners, their wives and children ran from the burning tents they were machine-gunned." Nineteen strikers and kin were killed, thirteen of them children. The public outcry that followed coincided with a series of muckraking articles aimed at Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. In the aftermath of these events the "Rockefeller Plan" to establish a board representing both management and employees as a forum for discussion of working conditions and grievances was unveiled, amid a fanfare of publicity. Rockefeller himself spent two weeks in Colorado conducting inspections and talking with miners, their families, and mine superintendents. Newspaper readers throughout the country read how John D. had attended a local social function and danced with nearly every woman on the floor. But Irving Bernstein records a brief interchange with one William Hood that reveals as much about the dogged class instinct of a coal miner as it does about the "new" image of once-alooof industrialist:

Hood: Is dat you, Mistah Rockefeller? . . . Now is dat so! An' you-all heah shakin' hands wid a black boy like me! . . . I'se a most faithful employee for you-all, suh. An' I wants to know, suh, when I'se goin' tuh git on de pesion-list? . . .

Rockefeller: Well, I'm not on the pension-list myself yet, William.

Hood: Yes, but you-all ain't doin' no laborious labor.

*Excerpted from Cultures Of Solidarity
By Rick Fantasia (1988)*

scabs. One of the largest to do so was the Columbine Mine outside of Erie in the Northern Field. This mine was controlled by the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company. The IWW concentrated its attention on shutting this mine down and sent large picket lines to the mine daily in an attempt to entice the scabs out of the mine. Josephine Roche, who had recently gained controlling interest in the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, had given orders that no one should interfere with the picketing on her property. In fact, coffee was often served to the pickets at her request.

The miners were confused. The gates had never been shut before.

Rockefeller was incensed at her "feminine" treatment of the strikers and decided to teach her a lesson in the manly art of handling strikers, especially "Wobbly" strikers. The state had always served Rockefeller well in the past, so--through tried and true channels--he arranged to have a detachment of 20 state rangers sent to the Columbine Mine under the leadership of Captain Louis Scherf. Captain Scherf and several of the rangers had been in Troop A at Ludlow a few years earlier. They had received special training in handling militant miners there.

On Sunday evening, November 20, 1927, the rangers moved onto the Columbine Mine without the knowledge or permission of Josephine Roche. Witnesses reported the sounds of heavy drinking Sunday night at the Columbine and much boasting by rangers about the fate of the miners the following morning.

The miners assembled at the union hall early Monday morning, November 21, dressed warmly, as November mornings at 5,000 feet are always cool. Five hundred unarmed miners paraded to the mine as usual, hurrying this morning in hopes that warm coffee would be on the line. When they approached the mine, they found the gate closed and the Boulder County sheriff blocking their way. He pleaded with the IWW pickets to go home, throwing silver dollars on the ground, hoping that would deter them. He had heard by the grapevine what the bosses and the state police had in store for the miners if they proceeded. His neutrality during the strike had enraged the mine owners, the judges, and the local press.

The miners were confused. The gate had never been shut before. It was a public road through the camp, and there was a public post office in the camp. Decades of frustration boiled over and they began to climb the fence. Two State of Colorado machine guns opened fire on the defenseless miners and the miners retreated, leaving five dead brothers, one dead sister, and 30 wounded. (One retired miner told me that a friend of his had broken an arm in a mining accident. That morning the rangers shot him through the other arm. For months, he had both of his arms in casts, which made soapboxing difficult).

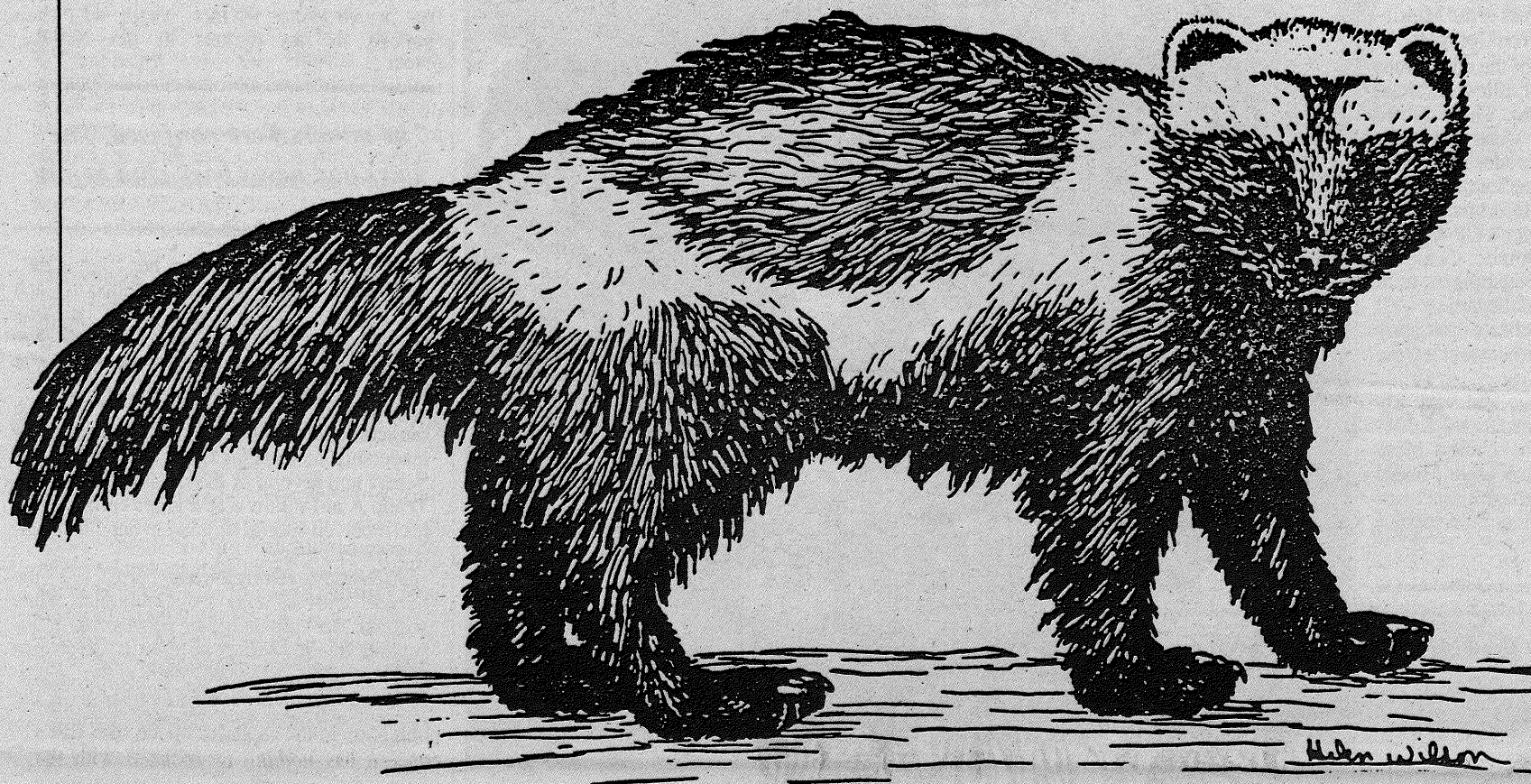
As usual, the miners were blamed for the violence in the press. The State Militia was sent to the mine and the repression began. Discouraged miners began returning to work. Scherf and his rangers, vindicated of any wrong-doing at Columbine, moved to the southern coal fields where they were involved in more violence and intimidations.

The miners voted to officially call off the strike on February 20, 1928, for three basic reasons. First, Embree felt that the miners should go back to work to earn some money before the traditional slowdown of the mines in the summer, as the IWW was broke and could not support the strikers and their families. Second, the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company had agreed to sign a union contract with the UMWA to head off any further organizing by the more militant IWW. This was the first time in fifty years of struggle that a coal operator was to sign a permanent union contract in Colorado. Rockefeller was furious and tried every tactic to break the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company for this breach of capitalist discipline. Third, without recognizing the IWW or even negotiating with them, the mine owners "volunteered" a fifteen percent increase in

(continued on page 8)



EARTH FIRST!...



(continued)

to promote this platform, and some sort of internal bulletin in which card-carrying, dues-paying members can air new proposals and disagreements. EF!, however, makes no distinction between its internal and public lives. The journal *Earth First!* is probably the most wide-open paper of contemporary American radicalism. It regularly features an astonishing variety of articles representing an astonishing number of points of view. No paper that any of us has ever seen, for instance, has published so much criticism of itself as the EF! journal. Over the years the columns of the *Industrial Worker* have included more down-to-earth self-criticism than any paper in the history of the North American labor movement, but we have to admit that *Earth First!* has us beat by a mile on this score. The EF! journal is filled with lively ongoing debates on theory, strategy and tactics; wildly different approaches to every major topic; visionary proposals by backpacking poets and scholarly mountain-folk; and not a few outrageously madcap harangues by the lovable and sometimes not-so-lovable oddballs and cranks that cluster around every live radical group. In many ways *Earth First!* resembles the *Industrial Worker* as it was back in the days when our main contributors were footloose hoboes on the road.

There is no better way to learn about Earth First! than to read the EF! journal, and we urge our readers to subscribe to it (\$15 a year from P.O. Box 5871, Tucson AZ 85703). *But don't make the mistake of thinking that everything you read in it is "official EF! policy"!* As is clearly and prominently stated in 10-point type in each and every issue, the EF! journal is not and has never pretended to be any more than "an independently owned newspaper within the broad EF! movement." If that isn't plain enough, it is further stated in every issue that the paper

is not the "official newsletter" of the EF! movement. . . . Earth First! is a forum for the no-compromise environmental movement. Responsibility rests with the individual authors and correspondents. The contents do not necessarily represent the viewpoint of this newspaper, the EF! movement, local EF! groups or individual EF!ers.

Every one of the attacks on the EF! movement that we have seen has utterly ignored this important disclaimer.

Perhaps, if the editors of EF! would stop trying so hard to represent as fully as possible the incredible diversity of a farflung and



decentralized movement; perhaps if they hacked away at all the copy that came in to make it fit a rigidly conceived "correct line"; perhaps if they weighed each and every word with the hyperscrupulous finesse of those whose sole talent is hindsight—perhaps, then, EF! would not be the subject of so much controversy. But in that case no one ever would have heard of EF!, and it would not be the dynamic, exciting and growing movement that it is. And isn't it obvious that radical environmentalism *needs* an untamed open forum such as EF!, in which activists of all ages and backgrounds and levels of experience can develop their ideas freely without having to worry about anyone hitting them over the head with an ideological hammer?

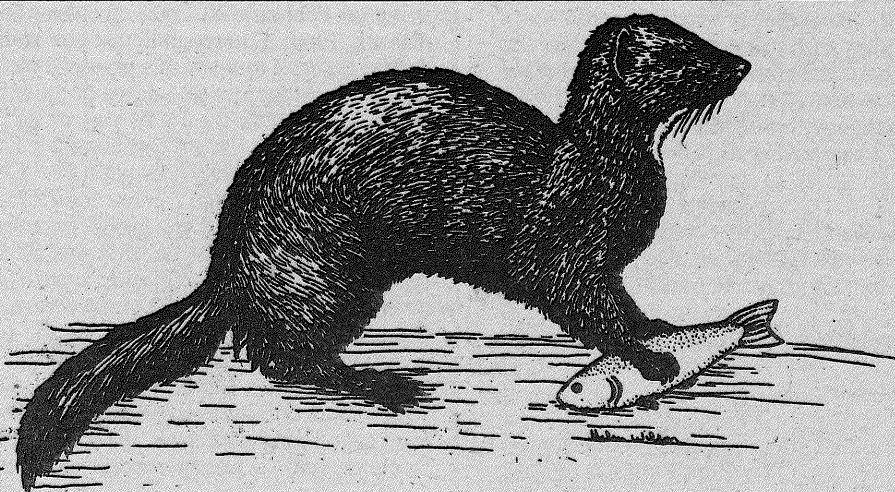
Of course, one of the troubles with doing your thinking out loud in public—as many contributors to EF! like to do—is that other people are watching and listening, and can hardly help noticing when you put your foot in your mouth. The very openness of the EF! journal makes it easy prey for armchair critics. Among the watchers and listeners there will be some who, out of ignorance, jealousy, malice or a combination of all three, will use this or that individual's occasional careless remarks to try to discredit the entire movement. And that, it seems to us, is exact-

ly what the anti-EF! propaganda boils down to. Seizing on a sentence or two from one or another obscure text and wrenching it out of context so as to distort the author's meaning beyond recognition, enemies of radical environmentalism have then brazenly pretended that such hideously distorted fragments represent the "official policy" of the broad EF! movement.

Let us now consider, briefly, one by one, the ludicrous "charges" made against EF! by various envious inactivists.

★ ★ ★

1) The charge that EF! is "anti-worker" is a particularly laughable one, not only because the movement is largely made up of workingclass folks, but also because EF!ers have been active in so many labor-related efforts—most notably the ongoing boycott of the union-busting Coors beer. *Earth First!* has also published important material relating radical environmentalism to union and workplace struggles. The "anti-worker" charge needs no further refutation, for the interview with Roger Featherstone, the "Open Letter" by Randall Restless and other material in the May *Industrial Worker* leave no doubt that EF! and the movement for workingclass emancipation are not only compatible but close and complementary.



... VS. THE RUMOR-MONGERS

2) The labor-hating and scab-produced *Chicago Tribune* has published several articles asserting that EF!'s monkeywrenching tactics—particularly tree-spiking—somehow “injures workers.” But no one, at the *Tribune* or elsewhere, can name a single worker who has been injured by EF!'s use of this old tactic (which, by the way, they learned from the IWW). Last year hundreds of capitalist newspapers picked up a scare-story, from a West Coast paper, about a sawmill-worker supposedly injured by a spiked tree, and of course echoed the sawmill-owners in placing the blame on EF! What these newspapers did *not* report, typically enough, was that the paper that originated the story published a full retraction and apology, acknowledging that nothing in the case related it to EF! In fact, as Fellow Worker Barb Hansen pointed out in the March *Industrial Worker*, the sole blame for the sawmill accident lay with the sawmill bosses.

EF! monkeywrenching etiquette requires that tree-spikers indicate clearly—usually by means of an unmistakable spray-painted message—that a particular forest or section thereof has been spiked. Moreover, further notification (generally by phone) is given to the logging firms, the sawmills, and the workers involved! The whole point of tree-spiking, of course, is not to hurt anybody but to save trees!



©by Millipede '86

4) No less unfounded is the weird charge of “nationalism” that sometimes crops up. This one has its origins in Edward Abbey's peculiar views on Mexican immigration, as expressed in letters to the *Bloomsbury Review* and elsewhere. Arguing that immigrants are driven to the U.S. by despair, only to be super-exploited here, Abbey has urged that we turn them back at the border after furnishing each one with a rifle and several rounds of ammunition, so that they can make the Revolution in their homeland (Abbey is fond of the battle-cry, “Viva Zapata!”). Whatever one makes of this odd notion, it cannot simply be written off as “nationalism.” But more important here is the fact that Abbey's notions cannot be taken as EF! policy. As it happens, nearly all the EF!ers we know—several score of them—disagree with him on this matter, on the grounds that radical ecology is incompatible with the repressive political idea of national boundaries.

One of America's greatest living novelists and a trenchant essayist as well, Abbey, who identifies strongly with the anarchist tradition and has avowed his sympathy for the IWW, has been a major inspiration for the EF! movement. His fine 1976 novel, *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, is an unexcelled portrayal of EF!'s philosophy and way of life. But he has never set himself up as any sort of Great Leader, and EF!ers, who have little use for “leadership” in any case, have never regarded him as such. (When the arresting officers arrive and ask EF!ers “Who's your leader?” they usually reply, IWW style, “We're all leaders!”)

5) Undoubtedly the single most preposterous charge that has been made against EF! is that it “supports” AIDS. Anyone who believes such a thing is obviously ready to believe anything: that Ronald Reagan is a dues-paying Communist; that hippies are plotting to dump LSD in our water-supply; that

Elvis is still alive and living in Atlantis. The rumor can be traced back to a very short tongue-in-cheek bit of obvious black humor, written by an EF! mother of two and published on page 32 of the May 1987 EF!, illustrated with a cartoon of a mastodon crushing a Volkswagen and captioned: “Bring Back the Ice Age!” Attempting to view AIDS from a non-anthropocentric ecological perspective—that is, in terms of its effect on the planet as a whole—the author urged that “if radical environmentalists were to invent a disease to bring the human population back to ecological sanity, it would probably be something like AIDS.” Yes, this tiny text was in horribly bad taste, but it's mild stuff compared to Jonathan Swift and Mark Twain. And since one of the main aims of the EF! journal is to provoke, to disturb, to foment rage, to wake people up and start them dreaming and thinking, “Miss Ann Thropy's” little jeremiad would seem to have done its work well. Beneath the wry sarcasm the text raises serious questions: What does it mean when a new disease emerges in society? And what is the relation between human disease, industrialization and the natural world?

A later, related text in *Earth First!*—one that most Wobblies would much prefer—suggests that what the world *really* needs is a disease that would afflict *only* the U.S. Senate and executives of the multinational corporations.

6) Finally, EF! is often accused of being “Malthusian.” The basis of this charge is that EF!ers—unlike the Moral Majority, the Communist Party and the Roman Catholic Church—are genuinely concerned about the ecological devastation brought about by human overpopulation in the capitalist epoch. But EF!'s concern has *nothing in common* with the hypocritical, puritanical, and reactionary politics of that pious, plagiaristic and anti-ecological fraud, Rev. Malthus. EF!'s concern, in fact, is focused on problems that Malthus couldn't have cared less about. In the 1980s, because of human overpopulation, countless species of animals and plants become extinct *every day*; rainforests, and wilderness areas generally, are being “developed” by multinational exploiters into uninhabitable industrial wastelands. *These* are the concerns of EF!, and if such concerns make them “Malthusians,” then the Ayatollah Khomeini is a Wobbly.

★ ★ ★

None of this is meant to suggest that the EF! movement is free of very real problems. On the contrary, like every vital and truly revolutionary movement, it lives from crisis to crisis. How could it be otherwise, considering the frightful power and immensity of the forces arrayed against it?

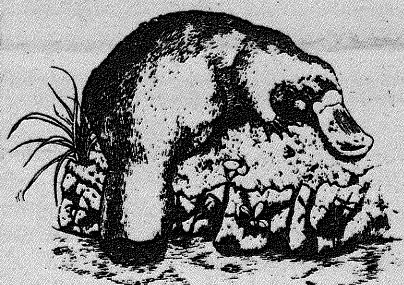
The future of EF! is an open question. In the long run, of course, the answer depends on the development of a revolutionary workingclass movement, and its ability to triumph over the death-oriented world capitalist system. From that perspective, one of our own major tasks in the immediate future must be to spread the word of radical environmentalism throughout the broader labor movement, and among working men and women everywhere.

Meanwhile, let's see to it that the rumor-mongers don't have their way. Before you repeat a potentially harmful rumor, try to track it down to its source. Before you attack a movement, try to learn the truth about it. After all, truth itself is revolutionary. It's one of the things the bosses hate most.

EF!ers have learned a lot from the IWW, and Wobblies have been learning a lot from EF!, too. Making this planet livable again is not so simple a task, and no one can pretend to have *all* the answers. There's certainly plenty for all of us to do, each in our own way.

An injury to one is an injury to all! Think globally, act locally! Solidarity forever!

—Lobo X99



Correspondence

(continued from page 2)

Fellow Workers,

I'd like to start everybody thinking about a possible improvement in the name of our paper, which is widely misunderstood at first sight. In standard union usage regarding names, the adjective refers to the union, not the worker. This is clear in titles like *Amalgamated Meat Cutter* or *United Mine Worker* et al.

Unfortunately, "industrial worker" is a term by itself. It's generally taken to imply exclusively a blue-collar worker, especially in a smokestack industry. At the same time, the unionism meaning gets lost.

We don't want to chuck out our traditions. But originally, although the *Industrial Worker* was the one that survived, the main IWW organ was called *Solidarity*. Why not reclaim our full heritage? At first in a different type, add two words: (*Industrial Worker*) and *Solidarity*. Then gradually modify the head until it reads with the first word as a small overhead cap: (*INDUSTRIAL*) *WORKER SOLIDARITY*.

What could better describe what we stand for?

I know the word "solidarity" also appears from time to time in titles used by various grouplets. The hell with them. We said it first.

M. Moss
X327554
New York

Fellow Workers,

Last month I threw the office a bouquet; this time it's a brickbat.

So we learn, upon purusing our latest copy of the *Worker*, we are dedicated to a policy of No Work! True the idea of a 4-hour day has been with us for some time. Great! Who wants to drudge when work isn't necessary? But this 100% leisure business has me confused. And what am I to tell perplexed readers when I pass out this month's issue? They'll wonder whether that silly interpretation of IWW by some bosses ("I Won't Work") had some basis in fact.

Some years ago in writing an article for the paper I used several synonyms for worker, just for variety. Nick Steelink, one of our old-time fellow workers, took me to task. "Worker is the most beautiful word in the language," he said, "and it should be used wherever possible. No substitutes!" And now this!

Furthermore, I find the cartoons (most of them, anyway) to be on a juvenile level. Something produced by your tabloid press; not worthy of thinking Wobblies.

Dorice McDaniels
Lawndale, California

Editors,

Enclosed some clippings on the Eugene Debs memorial in Canton, Ohio June 19th. Sixty-plus came for this event from cities around Canton, including FW Eddie Mann from Hubbard. We thought it was good.

Your recent examinations of the world of work cause even an old ? like me to wake up by the sharpness of some of the observations. After 15 years as a tenant farmer and 36 years in rolling mills I find it true that those who work have little and those who never worked have unbelievable wealth and power.

Cordially,
Merlin Luce
Workers' Solidarity Club
Youngstown, Ohio

Fellow Workers,

As I have followed this presidential campaign I have come to but one conclusion.

Up until now the employers have paid the workers a wage (in reality, a form of wage-slavery).

But now, there are those wealthy employers with support from the White House to have the American workers pay their employers, so that workers will not lose their jobs.

The time is right for the workers to take the reigns of power and to put the true power into their own hands.

Yours Truly,

Alan Crabb
X337010
Independence, Iowa

The Strikes of August

Lamenting the return of the "phantom of anarchy and self-rule", the Polish authorities resorted to stonewalling and force to break an upsurge in strike activity in August that brought 76,000 workers into conflict with the state-capitalist regime.

The strikes began August 15 as 3,000 to 4,000 miners struck the Manifest Lipcowy coal mine near Jastzebie, demanding among other things a 50% pay hike, the re-instatement of *Solidarnosc* activists fired for union activity and the legalization of *Solidarity* itself. Over the next week the strikes spread to 10 other mines in the area and workers in the Baltic port of Szczecin shut down the port and all city wide transportation. On Monday, August 22, the workers of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, joined by a number of smaller shipyards, entered the fray; but attempts to spread the fight to other well-known *Solidarnosc* strongholds--the Nowa Huta steel works and the Ursus tractor plant in Warsaw, the Stalowa Wola steel and machinery complex in the southeast and the Cigielski heavy machinery plant in Poznan--failed to win widespread support, and activists in these locations were only able to muster short-lived work stoppages.

Just as in the April-May strikes the government refused to deal with *Solidarnosc*, knowing that to do so would amount to a *de facto* recognition of the union. Instead, it relied on a combination of propaganda and force to break the strikes. Government news media played up the costs to the already over-burdened economy in an effort to isolate the strikers politically, and at the same time implemented measures to physically isolate sit-down strikers from their supporters in a bid to starve them into submission. The government could then round up *Solidarnosc* activists and use force selectively to end occupations. This they did in Szczecin and at three mines near Jastrzebie where riot police stormed occupied workplaces and beat strikers into the streets.

As the *Industrial Worker* goes to press (August 26) this latest test of strength between the working class and the Polish state seems to be winding down. But, as the economic reforms bring more hardship to the Polish working class, discontent will surely rise and *Solidarnosc* will once again have the opportunity to flex its muscles. These latest mobilizations were both larger and more widespread geographically than those of April-May, and more explicitly in favor of *Solidarnosc*; those of the future are likely to eclipse the strikes of August.

Mike Hargis



...and have the satisfaction of belonging to the one labor organization that has never sold out the working class. Initiation is \$5. Dues are \$5 if you earn \$300 or more per month, or \$2 if you are earning less. As a member you will receive a copy of *Industrial Worker* each month (Value: \$5) and will receive a copy of the *One Big Union* pamphlet, the *IWW Constitution and Bylaws*, a membership button, and of course, your IWW membership card. Send this application with your check or money order (for your initiation fee and at least one month's dues) to IWW Headquarters in Chicago, or, if you prefer, to one of the IWW Delegates or Branches listed on page 11. Remember... an organization like the IWW depends on *active* members, who know that a union which lacks solidarity and a participatory spirit is no union at all. Join the IWW. Don't trust to luck.

The Columbine Massacre

(continued from page 5)

Decades of frustration boiled over and they began to climb the fence. Two State of Colorado machine guns opened fire on the defenseless miners and the miners retreated, leaving five dead brothers, one dead sister, and 30 wounded.

pay, checkweighmen in some mines, agreed to observe state safety laws, and pay for some "dead work".

Those were the most substantial gains ever received in Colorado to that date as a result of strike activity. In fact, it was the only such wage increase reported between 1928 and 1930 in any American coal field--and Colorado finally had a coal miners' union. Rockefeller's CF & I remained stubbornly non-union until the mid thirties, when the communist NUM began organizing in the West. He quickly signed UMW contracts at that point rather than gamble with what might be another militant union.

In my opinion, the IWW won this very significant victory due to the way the strike was organized; first, because the miners ran the strike themselves democratically, and second, because that democracy produced roving pickets which spread the strike and paralyzed the coal industry in the entire state for the first time.

I have been told by retired coal miners that the IWW had promised markers for the men and women killed at the Columbine Mine, but nothing was forthcoming. I am sure that was because of the many pressures that the IWW was facing at that time. It had more problems to deal with than money and manpower to solve them.

The Denver-Boulder Branch is attempting to finally fulfill that promise. We are working with the Colorado Labor Forum, the Lafayette, Louisville, and Erie historical societies, and the UMW to raise \$2000 to erect a memorial to honor our fallen fellow workers at the Columbine Mine. We decided to broaden the wording to honor all miners and their families who have struggled so long and made so many sacrifices for all of us. The memorial will be a 5' by 8' roadside marker built, erected, and maintained by the Colorado Historical Society, just south of the Columbine site. We hope to raise the money and have the memorial ready to unveil by November 21, 1988, the 61st anniversary of the Columbine Massacre.

We are hoping that a substantial share of the cost of this memorial will be contributed by our fellow workers in the IWW. The UMW has already expressed an interest in helping, but this memorial should be our effort as much as possible. We don't have a large treasury, but we have a lot of heart.

For those who can attend the unveiling or will want to visit the memorial while in Colorado, it will be placed on Colorado Highway 7, two miles west of I-25, four miles east of Lafayette, in the shade of a beautiful old oak tree.

Make checks payable to the Columbine Memorial Fund and mail them to Gary Cox, P.O. Box 478, Johnstown, CO 80534.



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Unemployment System on the Skids

Fewer than 31 percent of the US unemployed now get jobless benefits, by far the lowest level in the unemployment insurance system's 53-year history. Of the 7.4 million people who were officially unemployed in 1987, only 2.3 million collected jobless pay which averaged \$150 a week. The percentage of those unemployed getting jobless checks has been slightly lower this year, following the long term downward trend. In 1975, 76 percent of the 7.9 million unemployed got jobless pay; in 1982, only 45 percent of the 10.7 million unemployed.

A shortage of cash in state trust funds from which jobless benefits are paid is a big cause of the decline, according to a study by the General Accounting Office. Faced with inadequate amounts of money, state governments which administer the system have tightened eligibility requirements needed to collect unemployment, rather than raise taxes to replenish the funds or cut back on the level of jobless pay, which continues to average one-third of the worker's average pay. But the Carter and Reagan administrations have gradually imposed income taxes on jobless pay; it is now taxed as if it were normal income.

applications and stand in line longer.

The shrinking unemployment insurance program puts the US in ever sharper contrast to the industrial nations in Europe and Canada, where more formidable unions have forced the owning class to throw them somewhat larger crumbs. Government paid benefits in many European countries run for a year or two and average 50% to 80% of an unemployed worker's last salary.

Unemployment's Funding Shortage

The unemployment insurance system was created under the same legislation as the Social Security system in 1935. From 1935 to 1950, the tax that business paid for both programs was a percentage of each worker's first \$3000 in pay. But after 1950, the paths of the two programs separated. Partly because the beneficiaries of Social Security had more political power than the unemployed, Congress has voted to push the tax base for Social Security to a maximum of \$45,000 of a salary. But Congress let the states base their unemployment insurance tax-rate on only \$7000 pay.



But while states have not reduced benefit levels, they have cut their total payout in other ways. In recent years, every state except Alaska has limited benefits to a maximum of 26 weeks. In effect, the states have done away with the 13-week extension of benefits that formerly went into effect when unemployment reached certain levels. In addition people in nearly every state must earn a bit more and work a bit longer to qualify for unemployment compensation, an edging up that sometimes makes part time workers too poor to qualify.

Another major cutback involves those who quit their jobs. Until the early 1980s, many qualified for jobless pay if they remained out of work for 10 weeks or more; now jobless benefits are virtually never paid to those who leave their jobs voluntarily.

During layoffs in earlier years, unions were active in getting members to the unemployment office and helping them file claims. In states where unions are still strong like New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, nearly everyone eligible for jobless pay collects it. But in most other states where unions are weak, payments fall short of eligibility. Another obstacle has been the closing since 1980 of more than 700 of the nation's 2000 unemployment offices, which means the unemployed must, often travel farther to file their

While tax revenue grew slowly, the labor force expanded rapidly and so did the number of the unemployed, jumping from an average of 3.5 million people a year in the 1960s to an average of 8.7 million in the 1980s. Benefit payments have jumped from a high of \$5 billion a year during the 1974-75 recession to an average of \$15 billion a year since 1979.

The cash shortage showed up first in the 1974-75 recession, when some states ran short of money to pay benefits and borrowed from the federal government. The borrowing has reached \$30 billion in the 1980s, most of it during the 1981-82 recession, though most of it has been paid back. Until the 1980s states did not hesitate to borrow from the federal government as the loans were interest-free. Thus states had little incentive to cut back on benefit payments simply because the unemployment trust funds were low.

Then the Reagan administration imposed an interest charge on the loans to encourage repayment.

In addition, states found themselves competing intensely in the 1980s to persuade companies to put plants within their borders. A low tax for unemployment compensation became one lure, in the self-defeating game of trying to entice capital by offering cheaper labor.

plp



Rest In Peace

London--It has been a bleak season for Britain's hard left and summer offers no consolation as they lick their wounds and decide which of the dearly departed they might honour with a write-up in that literary pantheon of the Party's heroes of the revolution.

Frank Haxall at the age of 75 has gone to man that great barricade in the sky. After a mad, mad whirl as Communist Party union organizer--in which he made industrial history by the use of the "guerrilla" strike weapon, legalising the unofficial strike and closing down Britain's national press for a month--he lost out to other hard men within the Communist Party who destroyed him with the aid of the rightwing press, television and the Law Courts. For that he was expelled from the Communist Party for bringing it into disrespect by agreeing to the use of "illegal and undemocratic methods" in the union wars.

Harry McShane has left us at the age of 96 and he was a good fighter in many a good cause and he was a natural joiner in the world of politics, from the Independent Labour Party to the newly-formed 1922 Communist Party but always on the streets fighting and agitating from Glasgow to Canada and the Yukon and back to Glasgow to write for the Communist *Daily Worker* until he broke with the CP.

They are gone, the fighters and the fools, the streetwise political baggage-men who have now made the wine-flavoured pig swill on the political and industrial right.

But in that drear desire for power and authority over other men and women, for simple crude wealth or for a humane and a just society the battle will be fought, each seeking their own interests in the name of others. Only Britain's Communist Party secretly soldiers on, for ranged against the official middleclass Euro-communists who hold the key to the office and 10,000 members will be the excommunicated (alleged) Stalinist faction to be lead by ex-Motown worker "Red Robbo" Robinson and Mick "Picket" Hicks who did jail in the print workers punch up strike at Wapping.

Waiting for them in that great depot in the sky would be Jackie Presser of the American International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Jackie could tell Frankie and Harry where Jimmy Hoffa's body is cement-embalmed and if Anthony "Fat Tony" Salerno of the New York Genovese (alleged) mafia family ever knew who or what or why he was legally wrongfully accused of fixing the leadership elections of the Teamsters for Hoffa and Presser.

Name Your Poison

But enough of the fun side and the lighter moments of union politics, for Kensington--which ranges on one side to the home of the Russian Ambassador and Kensington Palace, to the slums of Notting Hill and the carnival, to the two rooms wherein I live--had its first national by-election with the death of the Tory sitting M.P. and it was a circus all the way.

My choice was for Cynthia Payne, ex-jailed brothel keeper who offered the voters free sex on the State Health Service, complete with whips, or "Screaming Lord" Sutch, or, from a choice of 15 candidates, *Class War*.

Britain's anarchist movement appears to contain a greater variety of interpretation in inverse proportion to those who claim to hold the true faith--*Class War* is of the street muscle/tabloid school of thought, while *Kill The Rich* is set in permanent type--as opposed to those who see an anarchist society as their bureaucracy, and the labouring class kept out of sight while life flows from college to comfortable residential old age. Allowing for the happy few whose only desire is to cultivate the common cabbage or to read blank verse while chewing a freshly-plucked lettuce it only leaves mine, the true faith, which is to protect and defend my own individual freedom in no matter whatever society you create around me. Which means that the Tory won Kensington by 9,829 votes, Cynthia and her free brothels got 193, "Screaming Lord" Sutch 61 votes

and *Class War* 60 votes and comrades I assume that somewhere in that there must be a moral.

Business As Usual

But it is not Disney time for the striking seamen and women picketing the White Cliffs of Dover, for the union leadership has decided to bow before Justice Davies' Law Lord decision that unless the union officially withdraw its mass pickets and accept the futility of only six "legal" pickets facing police and blackleg coaches then not only will they have to lose the three quarters of a million dollars already paid out in legal fines for breaking the Tory industrial "legal" laws, but a clean-out of the seamen's and women's union funds--so now it's illegal mass picketing by the men and women and no official support from the official union.

Britain's Rover Motown has been hawked off to the continental Aerospace with 5000 jobs gone overnight and the Hammond EE-TPU closed-shop "no-strike" clause electricians' union has finally been kicked out of Britain's governing TUC body with a huff and a puff and we sat in the White Hart and the point was hammered at me that *he* had no right to stick *that poem* on the inside door and as the beer went down the issue became more complex and the barman joined in introducing art and Trotsky and "legal" drinking time was long gone.

Arthur Moyse

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Book Review

Information And Authority

In The Age of the Smart Machine
by Shoshana Zuboff. Basic Books, 1988;
468 pages. \$19.95 cloth.

This is the best book yet on what computers are doing to the workplace. Unfortunately, the author never uses a concrete word when an abstract one exists, and circles around her own conclusion: that the employing class will use the data-gathering and dispersing capacity of computer technology to shore up class lines, even though the full possibilities of the technology will be unrealized. The reader has to plow through a lot of user unfriendly wordage and supply her or his own class analysis, but the book is worth it.

The first chapter, "The Laboring Body: Suffering and Skill in Production Work", offers an overview of the worker's ambivalence toward automation. Throughout human history work has been the exertion and often the depletion of the worker's body. Yet only within the context of such exertion has it been possible to learn a trade and master skills. Western civilization is infused with a long tradition of repugnance toward physical labor and the bodies which do that labor, stemming from 1) the Greco-Roman legacy associating labor with slavery; 2) the barbarian heritage extolling the warrior and disdaining those who worked the land; and 3) the Judeo-Christian theology admiring contemplation over action. Since the industrial revolution, the accelerating progress of automation has generally reduced the amount of effort required by the human body in the labor process. It has also tended to usurp opportunities for the development and performance of skills that only the body can learn and remember. Furthermore, through the time and motion studies of Frederick Taylor and his disciples, workers' activities are much more extensively surveyed and regulated than was formerly possible.

The second chapter, "The Abstraction of Industrial Work", analyses the computerization of two paper and pulp mills. Workers and supervisors alike who were intimately familiar with each operational function--ie. able to judge vat temperatures by feeling a pipe, able to detect a fluid overflow by the smell of chlorine--now had only numbers on a video display screen by which to monitor mill processes. Worker after worker described a sensation of being lost, of being blind and cut off. Their jobs had vanished into a two-dimensional space of abstractions. One pulp-mill operator compared the automated plant to his former job as a bank clerk: "In both cases you push buttons and watch things happen."

Chapter three, "The White Collar Body in History" looks at the history of management's attempts to control and streamline the work process. Chapter four, "Office Technology as

Exile and Integration" examines the computerization of an insurance company. Though clerical work has always been more abstract than paper making, the clerks also experienced computerization as a significant break with what they called the "manual" work of the traditional office. Like the pulp mill operators, the clerks felt they were operating in a void, and wondered where the material on the screens "came from" and where it "went". To try to get some representation of the clerks' "felt sense" of computerization, the author asked them to draw pictures of their work experience before and after computer conversion. In the "after" pictures the clerks portrayed themselves chained to desks, surrounded by bottles of aspirins, dressed in prison stripes, outfitted with blinders, surrounded with walls, faceless and spied upon.

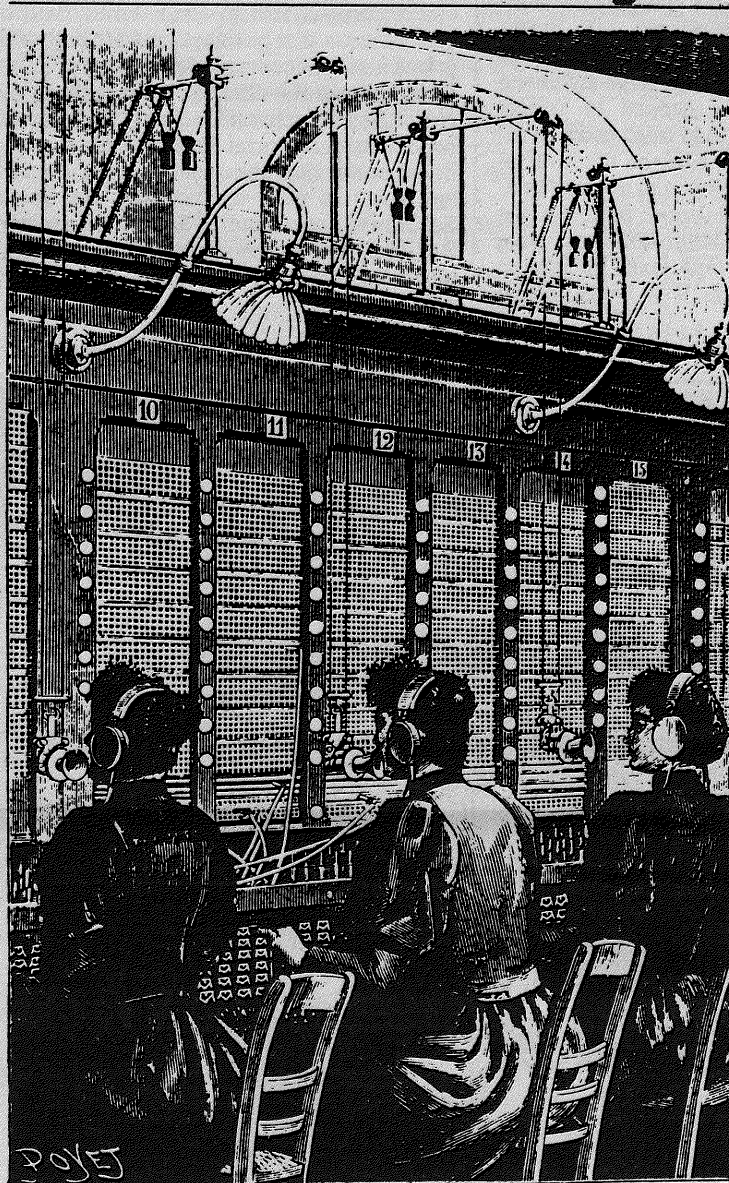
The fifth chapter, "Mastering the Electronic Text", illustrates how the cognization of computerized work, while making it more abstract, opens up two possible outcomes. The first is automation, the increasingly "smart machine" operated by the increasingly bored and passive worker. This is computerization as a reinforcement of the class structure of the present-day workplace. The alternative, for which the author has had to coin a new word--"informate"--calls for a computer technology that generates information about the underlying productive and administrative processes so as to make what is going on transparent and accessible to anyone behind any terminal.

In the second part of the book, "Authority: The Spiritual Dimension of Power", the author explains how the hierarchical structure of the workplace excludes the possibility of an egalitarian, learning-oriented work structure that could make full use of the computer's potential. The modern management-employee relationship harks back to the feudal master-servant relationship. In today's world, shared access to information threatens such fundamental distinctions. Computer systems designers and engineers are aware that computer systems are being set up in such a way as to make use of their political potential impossible, but have expressed hope that computer technology will quietly subvert the hierarchical system; in none of the work sites studied by the author were such hopes realized. "Unless informing is taken up as a conscious strategy," she concludes, "it is unlikely to yield up its full value. The centerpiece of such a strategy must be a redefinition of the system of authority that is expressed in and maintained by the traditional division of labor. . . . For us, computer technology alone can be no substitute for class struggle, but clearly we must accept that it has become a crucial factor and is thus well worth some very serious thought.

Penny Pixler



Amy Hosa



Book Review

Housing: An Anarchist Approach

Housing: An Anarchist Approach
by Colin Ward, Freedom Press (84B
Whitechapel High Street, London E.1, or
Charles H. Kerr Co., P.O. Box 914,
Chicago, Illinois, 60690)

In May of 1985 the mayor of Philadelphia, in the midst of his angry confrontation with the neo-Rastafarian MOVE group, made a decision that led promptly to the firebombing of an inhabited building, followed by the incineration of several adults and children in the building and the destruction of dozens of nearby homes in the ensuing blaze. Hundreds of people were rendered homeless in this futile attempt to exorcize a neighborhood's "undesireables". This July the same mayor, angered by the senseless gunning down of youngsters caught in a cross-fire between feuding pushers, vowed to cinder block or bulldoze all abandoned buildings in the city known to have been used for illegal drug-dealing. He has begun to make good his vow.

Musing on government's abandonment of all sense of the basics of human life, including shelter, when it comes to exert its power in workingclass neighborhoods, I turned to Colin Ward's collection of essays, lectures and short articles on the subject of housing. Here is an implicit and explicit critique of the "top-down" order of social power as it applies to the

human habitat. It contains nary a mention of MOVE, nor of any such group. Nevertheless, it responds to the ever more explosive cry of those who are being strangled by the modern system of the monopolization of all the needs of the living by bloated and arrogant power elites. Those residents who were burned out in the war against MOVE, and the homeless who are being cinder-blocked out of potential emergency shelters in the war for image and publicity, could use some of the ideas in this book.

Here is an implicit and explicit critique of the "top-down" order of social power as it applies to the human habitat.

It is suggestive of the global spread of the housing crisis that this book can be relevant to North America, even though Ward writes from a context far different from the U.S. and Canada. Its contents evolved in the post Second World War British reality of Labour Party power and planned workingclass housing projects. After the immediate post-war shortage and a rash of squatting episodes, which Ward chronicles, these projects eventually came to account for a major percentage of non-luxury shelter. The officially planned ap-

proach was replete with inherently fundamental problems, rooted in the fact that dwellers had too little control of their own dwelling place. Ward's insight into this problem allows him to criticize architects, planners and housing administrators, as well as to point out the positive elements in related phenomena such as squatting, shanty-town construction, self-building approaches and various decentralized methods of planning and carrying out the production of shelter.

His perspective, as an anarchist and a housing expert who understands the basically personal nature of housing as a response to a need and the expression of a desire, enables Ward to sympathize with those workers in the UK who have opted to buy public housing units during Thatcher's bid to sell off the public system. Any dealing with that regime is a bitter pill. But workers may see ownership as the only available key to controlling their own housing as they face public bureaucracy on the one side and a right-wing juggernaut on the other. There is also present in this book an appreciation of the aesthetic and psychological dimension of housing. Justly so. For the banner-pole of pleasure and beauty has to be sharpened and plunged into the guts of the system that is breeding pain and ugliness, along with homelessness. Give us homes, but rose gardens too.

J.J.

Reportes

de America Latina

by Bill Turnmire & Yvonne Daley

We're going to tour Latin America by land for over six months, seeing and talking to many people you would: workers, peasants, feminists, unionists, political activists and native peoples, from Mexico to the Andes of South America. And to help pay our costs--and to give you a unique perspective--we'll publish *Reportes* monthly.

For your contribution you'll receive six 4-page issues giving our view of the country or two we've just been in. Bill, peace-nik and IWW labor activist in Spokane for several years, has studied and travelled in Central America and will report on Labor and Politics. Yvonne, artist and active feminist, will report on Women and Culture. We'll share slides with you upon our return. Donations are very welcome. Make checks payable to Bill or Yvonne, W. 1412 Main #A, Spokane WA 99201. Subscriptions: \$15 (or \$10 if you're broke)...

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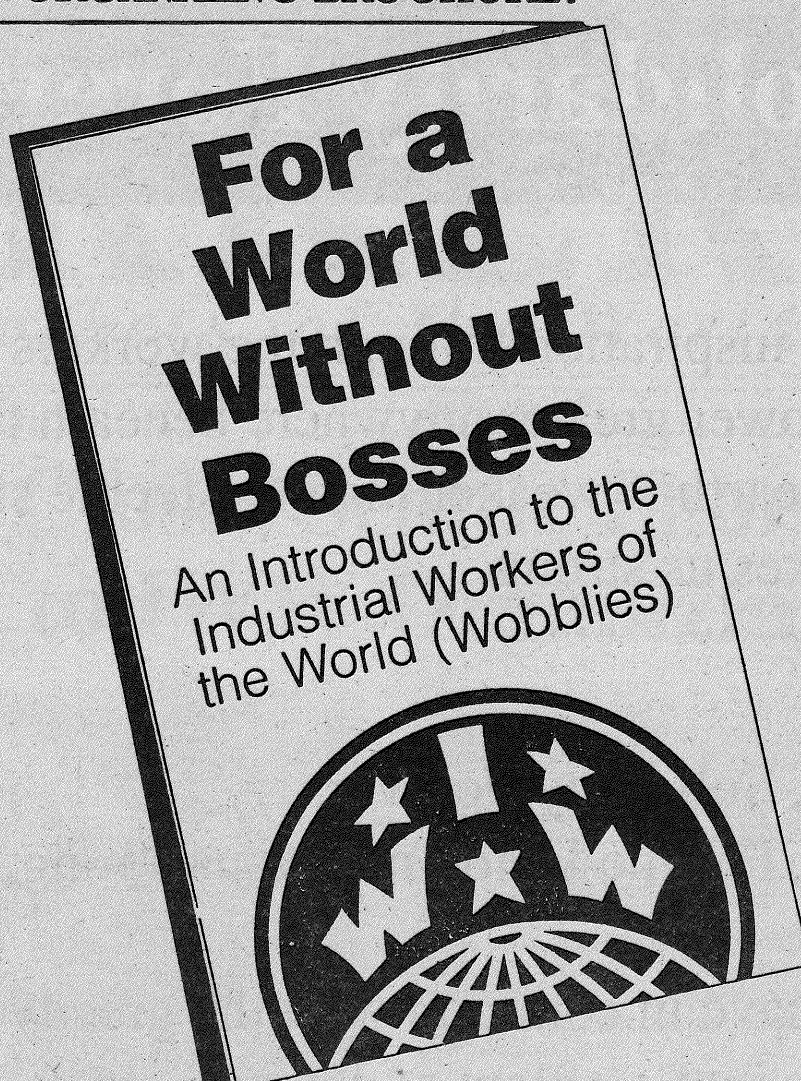
CANADA

Vancouver General Membership Branch, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. V5N 5K5. * Toronto General Membership Branch, 20 Kensington Place, Toronto, Ontario M56 2K4. Phone c/o Blackbird Design (416) 591-7577. * Robin Oye, Delegate, 16 Wellington St. South, Kitchener, Ontario N2G 2E5. * J.B. McAndrew, Delegate, 7216 Mary Avenue (1204), Burnaby V5E 3K5.

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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON? THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AID THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHOLD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THIS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FURNISHING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

B O O K S

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Solidarity Forever

When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun;
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?
But the Union makes us strong.

Chorus:

Solidarity Forever, Solidarity Forever,
Solidarity Forever, For the Union makes us strong.

Is there aught we have in common with the greedy parasite
Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?
Is there anything left to us but to organize and fight?
For the Union makes us strong. *[chorus]*

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of railroad laid.
Now we stand outcast and starving, 'midst the wonders we have made;
But the Union makes us strong. *[chorus]*

All the world that's owned by idle drones is ours and ours alone.
We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.
It is ours not to slave in, but to master and to own,
While the Union makes us strong. *[chorus]*

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn
That the Union makes us strong. *[chorus]*

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;
Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousandfold.
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old.
For the Union makes us strong. *[chorus]*

Ralph Chaplin